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# **Success or failure in the city?**

## **Nineteenth century rural-urban migration from the Groningen clay soil region**

*Jacek Pawlowski and Richard Paping (University of Groningen)*

Paper to be presented at the 8<sup>th</sup> Day of the Historical Demography, Groningen, 11 December 2015

*Work in progress, very preliminary version*

### **1. Introduction**

This paper proposes to take a fresh look at the question of rural-urban migration from the perspective of the Groningen clay soil region in the nineteenth century. Were people moving from sheer necessity, desperately seeking for a livelihood, or were it the most successful and enterprising ones who took this step? What were the chances of those who at the time of rapid urban development decided to leave their home village and move to the city for a life improvement? Did they increase their chances for upward social mobility, or did they often experience downward social mobility? And finally what happened to people who for one reason or the other came back to the countryside in comparison with those who stayed? Was their return a sign of failure, or did they take with them a certain amount of human capital, that improved their life in the countryside. Our analysis will on the one hand take into account only movements to the city of Groningen, but for a more restricted sample also those to the other large urban centres in the Netherlands at that time.

In order to answer these questions the proposed paper utilizes not only a dynamic database with life courses of more than 3,000 people born around 1830, 1850 and 1870 in the Groningen clay soil region, but also a database with about 130,000 marriages from the Groningen City and the Groningen countryside for the period 1811-1934. For the first database, the paper will analyse three sub-groups drawn from the sample; a. people going to an urban environment and staying there; b. people migrating to the city and returning to the countryside and c. those whose lived their entire life in a rural environment. For the second database only a division between those countrymen marrying in the Groningen countryside and those marrying in the city of Groningen could be made.

In their recent article on migration flows of rural population in the Netherlands Kok, Mandemakers and Mönkediek (2014) observed two dominant trends in literature. One of general studies based on census data, and the second one containing either local and regional studies, where ‘push’ determinants of migration flows are broken down by gender, age, social class etc. Pretty much the same can be said about studies on the relation between rural-urban transitions and intra-, intergenerational mobility of its actors. Large scale studies based on *matching* individuals in census data, allow us to see the spatial and temporal extent of the migration on the one hand, and efficiency implication i.e. *treatment effect* of the migration to a city for the ‘general’ population on the other. Subsequently, studies of census data on national/provincial level, by comparing the labour market situation of the receiving and sending regions can suggest migrants responsiveness to labour market signals (Long 2005). Nevertheless, the market signals alone tell us very little about the actual determinants (*push factors*) of migration, and processes which are at work on a *micro* and *meso* level (Winter 2009). This growing interest (for an overview of recent trends in migration studies in the Netherlands, see Kok, Mandemakers & Monkedick 2014 and Winter 2014) results in increasingly growing number of complex explanatory models. As reservoirs for explanatory variables for these models, researchers within the last decades increased their interest in studies of selection of migrants at the level of the countryside (Kok & Delger 1998; Hatton & Williamson 1998), pointing at the role of communities and family in the process of bridging sending and receiving regions (Winter 2009, Wegge 1998, Lesger et al. 2002), the importance of return and intra-rural migration (Hochstadt 1999), the role of family cycles in migration, and other micro and meso determinants that affected migration behavior at an individual and communal level.

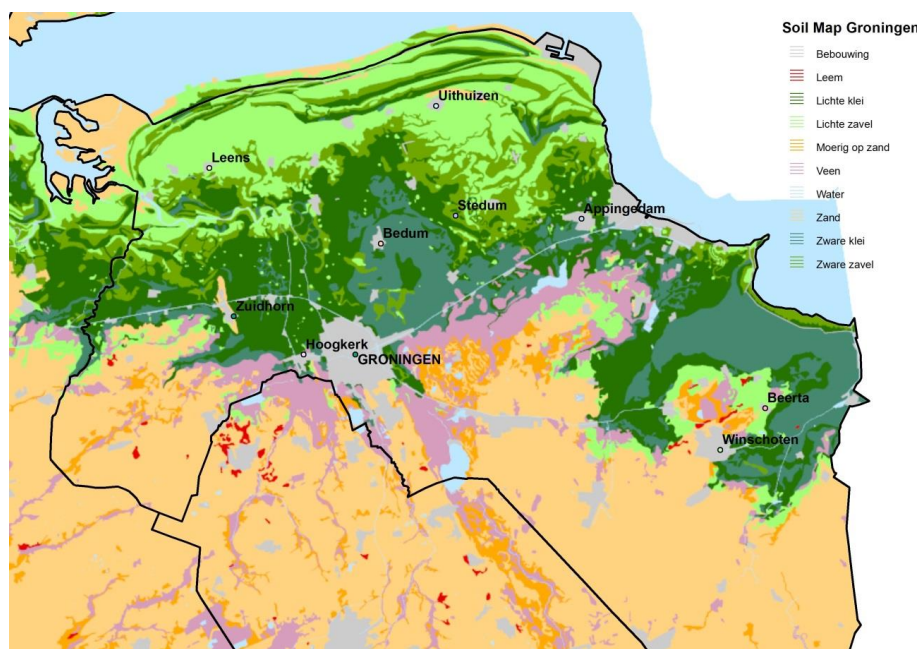
In a way, recent trends in rural-urban migration studies owe a great deal to the shift in scientific interest of many demographers, from ‘*demographic regimes*’ to analysing longitudinal micro data in the form of ‘*life courses*’ (Kok 2007). Unfortunately, census data due to its static general format, fail to provide enough insight into the complex nature of selection and decision-making processes. However, with the arrival of *the life course* paradigm, scholars are increasingly getting more insight into the lives of the population under observation. For the sake of answering the central question of our article about the effect of rural-urban migrations of Groningen clay soil region on their intergenerational social mobility, we used micro data to analyse the character of migration patterns of our sample before marriage. First, we will look at what the characteristics of those leaving the

countryside are (age, social background, alone, with parents or after marriage). Afterwards, we will analyse the social mobility that urban migrants, non-migrants (e.g. those staying in the countryside) and returnees experienced.

## 2. Data set and methods

### 2.1 Data

A large part of this paper is based on a dataset of 3,240 *life courses* made in the context of the Integral History Project Groningen. The original aim of this project, launched in 1987, was to get insight in the life of ordinary people in Groningen city as well as in the surrounding countryside for the period 1770-1914 (Kooij & Paping 2004). The decision to utilise only three cohorts from the whole database of 5,280 life courses from *Integral Project* was partly motivated by their coherence regarding information on 'migration careers' of the included individuals.<sup>1</sup> Selected samples of births from 9 of the 36 municipalities in the Groningen clay area (see Map 1) are organized in the following way. For every municipality the first 120 births were chosen from 1 January 1830, 1 January 1850 and 1 January 1870 onwards, resulting in 3 cohorts times 9 municipalities times 120 births, making 3,240 people.



Map.1. Soil map of the Province of Groningen, with the 9 municipalities selected for the Integral History Project Groningen: Appingedam, Beerta, Bedum, Hoogkerk, Leens, Stedum, Uithuizen, Winschoten, Zuidhorn.

These cohort members were followed at the level of the municipality, province and finally the whole country until their death, their migration abroad, or the moment when we lost track of them in the sources for a significantly long period. Appendix A shows that the quality of the database is extremely high. Only for a very small number of cohort members it proved impossible to find out what happened with them. This high quality is the consequence of several waves of improving the database and increasing its scope to a continuously larger part of the Netherlands since 1987.<sup>2</sup> A comparison of Appendix A with the quality of the same database 15 years ago supplied by Paping (1999) clearly shows the large improvements being made.

Using data from the Dutch Civil Registration comprising birth, death and marriage records from 1811 onwards, and from dynamic Population Registers available from 1850 onwards, the data set covers information on social position of parents at birth, occupations, both before and after the first marriage, places of settlement (migration history), marriage and personal details of the marriage partner and the birth of children. The high quality of the dataset enables us to trace migration careers not only before and after marriage, but also gives an indication if a migration before marriage was an independent decision of an individual who left the parental household, or a step undertaken by the whole family. In the further, analytical part of this article, we have decided to put a restriction on the dataset, and exclude children dying before the age of 5, to reduce biased results, especially of the net emigration rates among cohorts, which could arise from the extremely high child mortality of the 1870 birth cohort (Kooij 2004, p.196).

Our second source, a large set of marriage data subtracted from the database containing all of the marriages (234,000) concluded in the province of Groningen in the period 1811-1934. This database was kindly supplied by the RHC Groninger Archieven, and as also partly used for *Allegroningers*, *Genlias* and *Wiewaswie*. The dataset had several problems that forced us to restrict its number. Firstly we restricted ourselves to the brides and grooms born in the Groningen clay region (for the definition of the borders: Paping 1995). However, one problem was that not always the birth place was mentioned in the marriage certificate, or it was not taken over in the indexation process. Another problem was that there were villages (which were usually mentioned without stating the municipality they belong to) with the same name, positioned both inside and outside the Groningen clay region (for instance Oostwolde, Noordwolde, Zuidwolde and Niekerk), or were situated precisely at the border of the clay region (for instance Enumatil). These were only taken into account if we

had very good indications that the persons marrying were really born in the research area (for instance for the first group because the marriage had taken place in the municipality where the village was situated or an adjoining municipality).

Another problem is the missing of occupations. For grooms this proved a fairly limited problem (we did not take brides occupations into account), however for the fathers this was quite often the case. Unfortunately, this results in a bias as the main reason for the missing occupations was twofold. First, from dead parents the occupation was often not recorded. Second, there was no occupation stated when the father was already so old, that he or she kind of retired or were unable to perform an occupation. The problem with the first group could partly be solved, by using the occupation of the mother if mentioned. Consequently, in this way illegitimate children who were not legalized later on, could show up in the database, although they will have been underrepresented, because of the general reluctance to mention female occupations in the Dutch Civil Registration.

For the surnames starting with the letter A and B, we took over parental occupations mentioned in marriage certificates of full brothers and sisters. In this way also some of those with unknown or uncertain birth place could be added to the database again. This procedure conducted manually,<sup>3</sup> although making it possible to solve the majority of the cases with unknown parental occupation, proved very time consuming. We ended up with about 129,000 brides or grooms surely born in the Groningen clay soil region, with information on both the occupation of the groom and on the occupation of the parents of the bride or groom born in the Groningen clay region. After deducting second marriages, some 120,000 persons were left for the whole period 1811-1934.

## **2.2. Migration types and mobility**

Concepts of rural-urban migration and of social classification and social mobility can differ depending on research questions, locations and periods to which they are applied to. Consequently, we have to clarify here their local and temporal characteristics for the nineteenth century Groningen.

### **2.2.1 Migration types**

By migration we mean an officially registered move to another municipality. There are fairly high overall rates of individuals with at least one recorded migration in the Integral History sample (62.1% or a total of 2,012).<sup>4</sup> These migrants can be divided into three basic categories; A first category of 970 migrants who were staying within the countryside (due to the main purpose of this article, we did not make a distinction between regional and interregional rural migrations); a second group of 719 migrants that went least once to a big city, and finally a third group of 323 emigrants who went abroad without ever going to a city in the Netherlands.

We defined a big city as a place (municipality) of at least 15,000 inhabitants in 1899 (according to the *Volkstellingen*) and in which the major settlement also had at least 15,000 inhabitants. In this way we excluded smaller towns, but also some large municipalities that were actually conglomerates of larger, partly rural, settlements. As an exception we decided to include Assen in Drenthe, even though it had not reached 15,000 inhabitants by 1899, because of its role as administrative centre of a neighbouring province. In Appendix B our selection is presented.

Of course, the broad categorization of migrants into three groups has some intrinsic problems. Firstly there was a small subcategory of 59 persons who first went to a big city, and later on went abroad. Often these people went to the Dutch East Indies, while those emigrating directly from the countryside nearly always went to the United States of America. Secondly, we also want to distinguish between definitive movers to a big city and those returning. We have chosen to look at the place of death as an indicator of final migration to the city, while returnees are defined as those going to a city, but passing away again in the countryside.

### **2.2.2 Social mobility and social classification**

As an indicator of intergenerational social mobility we have usually compared the social class of the father at marriage with the social class of the child at or after his/her marriage. For daughters we looked at the social position of their husband, as information on the occupations of females around and after their marriage are limited and incomplete. Next to this, the occupation of the groom upon or after marriage is usually giving a better indication of the future earning possibilities of the couple. The career mobility later on in life fell out of the

scope of this article, also due to the fact that latter occupations of individuals under observation are not yet transcribed from personal cards to the digital database.

The Integral history data contains the occupations in the first years of the marriage of the cohort members. That occupation will be compared with the occupations of the parents (usually the father) around birth. In the case that no occupation was given in the birth certificate, indications of the parental occupation a few years later were used. In this way the occupations of fathers / sons or sons-in-law were compared when they were at about the same moment in the family life cycle and about the same age. This is scientifically a better comparison than comparing occupations of fathers and sons (in law) at the same moment in time, as we are doing for the large marriage database.

The first method - though much more complicated as record linkage is needed - is measuring the social mobility over one whole generation, and gives an indication of the overall social mobility in a society, partly due to the social mobility of parents later in life, and partly due to the career steps of the younger generation before and shortly after their marriage (Paping & Van der Woude 1996). The second method neglects on the one hand upward social mobility of parents later in life,<sup>5</sup> and on the other hand disregards that occupations at marriage are usually occupations shortly before marriage, and not of heads of households. In the nineteenth century due to the enormous importance of the live-in servant system until the early twentieth century (Paping 2015), men and women changed occupation around the marriage date. The numerous live-in farm hands in our database are a clear sign that many marriage certificates report the occupations of brides and grooms before marriage. The consequence of this is that the method using marriage certificates only offer a distorted picture of intergenerational social mobility. However, as occupations before and after marriage are often closely related, and the intragenerational social mobility some years after marriage is rather limited, this methods gives some indication of social mobility.

Mobility of sons and daughters whose occupations at first marriage placed them in a higher/lower social category than their father's, was coded respectively as upward/downward mobility. Immobility was ascribed to those who stayed in the same social group as their father at his marriage. Consequently, for measuring social mobility a proper social classification system is of utmost importance. Unfortunately, we lack in both our datasets consistent and complete information on any other social indicator than occupation, as for instance income, land use, tax record and so on. Consequently, we run into all the numerous problems related



to occupational social stratification schemes (Van de Putte 2010; Zijdemans 2010). In general this is very worrying, as we are using these social classification schemes to measure social mobility. As measuring it involves comparing two variables measured in an unsecure way, social mobility itself runs an even larger chance on measurement mistakes on the individual level.

We have chosen to take the condensed version of HISCLASS (Van Leeuwen & Maas 2005) as a starting point, but some revisions have been made to more adequately reflect the nineteenth century Dutch situation in general and the Groningen situation in particular. Using the dataset of Mandemakers e.a. (2013), we initially ascribed HISCO codes to the occupations found in primary sources, and afterwards recoded them into 12 classes. In general we have applied a modified version of the condensed HISCLASS scheme. Evidence for Groningen and Drenthe (Paping 2010) clearly shows that farmers (*'landbouwers'*) are in general forming the top of the rural society, while their position in HISClass is lower than that of all the middle class occupations (merchants, shopkeepers and artisans). We solved, this by raising the position of ordinary farmers to the second level, and creating a new group with occupations of small farmers and fishermen between the skilled workers and the lower skilled workers. Some of the occupations unjustly placed in category 10 or even 12 - as fishermen who usually owned quite costly ships - were moved to this category.<sup>6</sup>

*Table 1. Modified Hisclass social classification scheme used.*

<b>Social Class condensed</b>	<b>Hisclass groups and titles</b>	
A	<b>1+2</b>	Higher managers and professionals
B	<b>8part</b>	Farmers (ordinary and large)
C	<b>3+4+5</b>	Lower managers and professionals
D	<b>6+7</b>	Foremen and skilled workers
E	<b>8part +10part</b>	Small farmers, gardeners and fishermen
F	<b>9</b>	Lower-skilled workers
G	<b>11+10+12</b>	Unskilled workers and farm workers

Next to this, we made several more and less important modifications to Mandemakers et al (2013), to solve some of the numerous inconsistencies of the classification scheme, and to let the social classification used reflect the actual social structure to a larger extent. The most important ones are; to move sellers by the houses (*'venters'* and *'kramers'*) from group 10-12 (unskilled) to 3-5,<sup>7</sup> to put all school masters (either head or not) on primary schools into 3-5, to move inn-keepers (*'herbergiers'*) from 1-2 to 3-5, to move oil millers, saw millers,

sawyers, soap makers to 3-5, as these titles indicate usually that these persons own an expensive mill or factory. Someone stated to be milking cows (*'koemelker'*) is just like a milking peasant (*'melkboer'*) someone who had some cows and sold the produce, we positioned them in the 8 remnant group. At the moment of presenting this paper we are still in the process of improving the Hisclass classifications of occupations presented by Mandemakers et al (2013). Consequently, the presented figures are by no means final yet.

### **3. Geographical mobility of the Groningen soil region population.**

#### **3.1 General mobility**

In this section we will give a brief overview of the general mobility patterns of the sample population of the Integral History database. The big problem is that it is not easy to compare migration histories of people with so widely diverging life-spans with simple statistics. First, for the sake of avoiding biased mobility rates, especially concerning our category of 'non-migrants' consisting of individuals without a single migration recorded, we have compared the overall mobility table of the whole sample (Table 2) with its counterpart (Table 3) in which we restrict our sample to individuals dying after the age of 5. Such a move was mainly dictated by the smallpox pandemic of 1871 in the province, due to which about a third of the 1870 cohort died before this age, compared tot 20-25% of the 1830 and 1850 cohorts (Appendix A).

*Table 2. Migration behaviour of Integral History cohort members, born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870.*

	Migration category				Total
	non-migrants	within country-side	to a city	migration abroad	
Higher managers and professionals	38%	19%	44%	0%	92
Farmers	41%	37%	19%	4%	509
Lower managers and professionals	37%	24%	32%	6%	477
Foremen and skilled workers	42%	25%	25%	9%	533
Lower-skilled workers	39%	26%	29%	5%	247
Unskilled workers and farm workers	36%	33%	16%	16%	1382
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,228</b>	<b>970</b>	<b>719</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>3,240</b>
	38%	30%	22%	10%	100%

NB: From the overall number of migrations abroad (382), 59 individuals who came across a city, were coded under the category 'to a big city'.

*Table 3. Migration behaviour of Integral History cohort members surviving until the age of five, born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870 (social background of their parents).*

	Migration category			N
	non-migrants	within the countryside	to a big city	
Higher managers and professionals	15.6%	23.4%	60.9%	64
Farmers	28.6%	47.4%	24.0%	384
Lower managers and professionals	25.1%	31.4%	43.5%	313
Foremen and skilled workers	32.2%	34.9%	33.0%	367
Lower-skilled workers	28.0%	35.7%	36.3%	170
Unskilled workers and farm workers	25.2%	51.1%	23.6%	808
<b>Total</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>42.6%</b>	<b>30.4%</b>	<b>2,106</b>

NB: Excluded are 323 migrants who migrated abroad directly from the place of birth or from the other location at the countryside, whereas includes 59 individuals who came across a city before leaving the Netherlands.

Both tables clearly show that the rural population of Groningen was extremely mobile, independently for each social category. However, the tables already report definite social differences, with children of higher managers and professional being the most mobile, and also moving to the largest extent to a big city. The next group strongly attracted by big cities were the children of lower managers and professionals. Children of farmers and farm workers - the category of unskilled workers and farm workers mainly consists of people employed in agriculture – on the other hand were the least prone to have moved ever to a big city, although this group was still surprisingly mobile in the countryside, moving from one village to the other. The least mobile group were in general children of skilled workers. Differences

between these group and the slightly more mobile lower-skilled workers, however, were fairly small.

*Table 4. Share of migrants going to a big city (including those moving abroad via a city), of the cohorts of persons born 1830, 1850 and 1870 in the Groningen clay region surviving until after the age of 5.*

		Cohort			Total
		1830	1850	1870	
Migration to a city	Count	160	224	257	641
	Cohort size	790	741	599	2,130
	% per cohort	20%	30%	42%	30%

*Table 5. Share of overall migration , of the cohorts of persons born 1830, 1850 and 1870 in the Groningen clay region surviving until after the age of 5.*

			cohort			Total
			1830	1850	1870	
stayornot	non-migrants	Count	30%	24%	14%	588
	migrants	Count	70%	76%	86%	1973
Total		Count	897	874	790	2561
		% of Total	35%	34%	31%	100%

Not surprisingly, geographical mobility rates heavily depended on the measured cohort, proving an increasing character of the phenomenon overtime (table 5). Whereas for the 1830 cohort as much as 30% of those who survived the age of 5 never moved from the municipality of birth, in 1850 it was already 24%, and finally, only 14% for the 1870 cohort, which was directly experienced by pandemic of the 1870's as well as the agrarian depression of the 1880's and the 1890's. The relative stagnation of the population in the Groningen clay region from 1880 onwards (Paping 1999) resulted indeed in a large out-flux of people, both to abroad (see figures in Appendix A) as to the big cities.

At the same time the share of other Dutch cities, located further away than the provincial capital Groningen, grew simultaneously with the rising rural-urban migration rates presented in table 4. Clearly, the Groningen countryside became more and more integrated in the Netherlands as a whole. Movements to Amsterdam and other Western big cities became increasingly part of migration trajectories. This development might partly be explained by the improvement in transport linkages between the northern Dutch provinces and the central part of the country.

### **3.2. First migration and migration abroad**

In this section we will look at first migrations. Here we are primarily interested in the migration preferences among different social groups. To answer this question we have used a draft version of a table (table 5), where all migrations after the twelfth birthday are considered as independent decisions, undertaken by unmarried adolescents. Of course we are aware of the weaknesses of such an assumption, and in the future we will complete the table with actual first migrations of adolescents alone. Nevertheless, the table is already capable of providing some preliminary glimpse into the significantly different migration patterns among different social groups.

It seems that adolescents children from upper and middle classes economically active in the service sector tended to choose big cities as their first destination more often than children from unskilled labourers and farmers mainly active in agriculture. Interestingly, children of low-skilled labourers often active in industry or services also went often to a city, whereas children of skilled workers - mainly independent artisans with a business of their own - were less attracted by big cities. In the case of farmers, who occupied a relatively high position in the social hierarchy, the low rate of urban migration can be explained by their strong ties with the rural economy. Many times their hands were simply necessary for the maintenance of parental farm. Children from unskilled parents, as was also already shown by Kok & Delger (1998) for the Utrecht population, did not adhere to the image of ‘floating proletariat’, at least not if we look at the moment of the first migration.

This initial reluctance towards long-distance migrations, or perhaps urban migration only, can be explained by lacking basic means to cover the direct migration costs, as well as by limited knowledge of the situation and their chances at the urban job market. The opposite is the case for the children of rural elites, they hardly migrate abroad, whereas more than half of them follow the footprints of their parents by going to the city, most of the times for educational purposes. Rural elites, in all three cohorts, are the youngest migrants to a city as we will see later on.

*Table 5. Direction of the first migration after the age of 12 of children born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830-1870 by social background of the parents.*

	<b>To a big city</b>	<b>within the countryside</b>	<b>abroad</b>	<b>N</b>
Higher managers and professionals	51%	49%	0%	35
Farmers	18%	80%	2%	203
Lower managers and professionals	25%	67%	7%	175
Foremen and skilled workers	17%	76%	7%	221
Lower-skilled workers	29%	64%	7%	94
Unskilled workers and farm workers	12%	76%	12%	522
<b>Total</b>	<b>225</b> <b>18%</b>	<b>923</b> <b>74%</b>	<b>102</b> <b>8%</b>	<b>1,250</b> <b>100.0%</b>

Besides a quite remarkably low rate of urban migration among the poorest group, we have to mention the striking parallel between their rates of urban migration and of migration abroad. Whereas for all remaining social groups migration outside the Netherlands played rather a marginal role, for the unskilled labourers' sons and daughter it was as feasible to go to city.

We also looked at the age at which people first moved. Firstly, there were numerous migrations in the first years of life, consistent with an earlier analysis of the database that showed that migration was often applied as a marriage strategy in the first years after marriage by married couples (Paping 2004). Next, the first migration often happened between the age of 15 and 30, related to the leaving-home process. After the age of 30, first migrations rarely happened, indicating that those who had not left their birth place in the first 30 years, often remained there until their death.

*Table 6. The share of those migrating abroad of those cohort members born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870 who actually migrated at least once during their life, divided per social class.*

<b>Father's social class</b>	<b>Migrated only within the Netherlands</b>	<b>Migration abroad</b>	<b>Total</b>
Higher managers and professionals	95%	5%	57
Farmers	92%	8%	302
Lower managers and professionals	85%	15%	299
Foremen and skilled workers	83%	17%	312
Lower-skilled workers	89%	11%	150
Unskilled workers and farm workers	73%	27%	892
<b>Total</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>2,012</b>

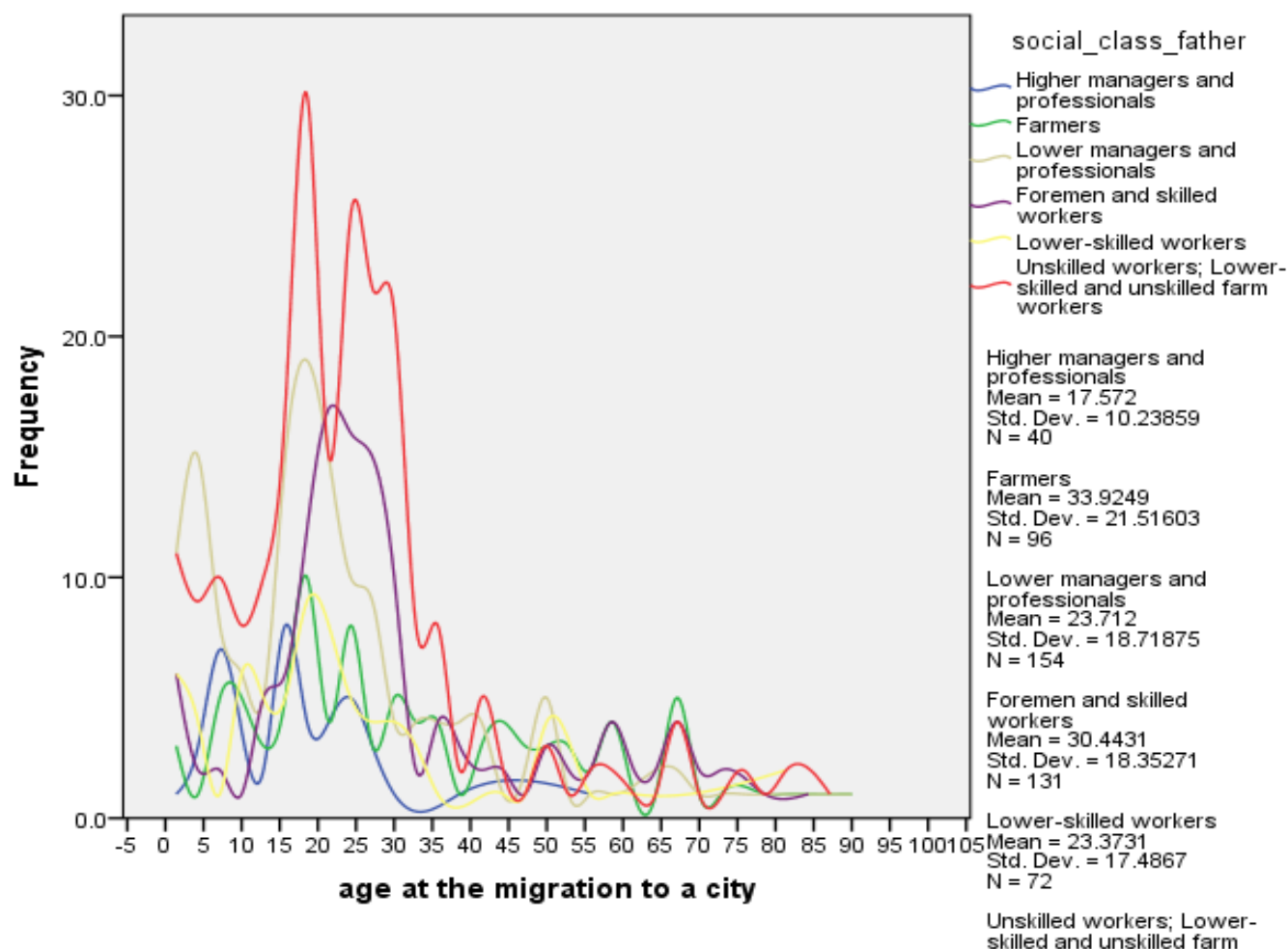
Table 6 shows what was the social origin of those 382 persons in the Integral History cohorts emigrating abroad, the vast majority of them went to the United States of America. As already mentioned, it were the rural unskilled workers who were mostly prone to go abroad. The difference with the non-agricultural elite, but also with the farmers was enormous. For the middle class groups the Netherlands also happened quite frequently, but less than in the case of the unskilled. Presumably, children of skilled and lower-skilled workers, and lower managers and professionals were less inclined to leave, as they also had opportunities in the city, whereas farm labourers children usually might not have the capabilities to build up a decent kind of urban career. In the United States these limited human capital seemed to have played a lesser role (Paping 2004).

### **3.3 Migrants to the big city**

Before trying to assess the levels and changes of social mobility, with special attention to those moving to the city, it will be instructive to provide more insight into the characteristics of the category of urban migrants. Among the total number of 719 urban migrants, as much as 25% went to the city with their parents. This group will not be taken into consideration in the analysis of the intergenerational mobility, though we will take them into account when discussing the returnees. Next to this another 29% of the individuals arrived for the first time in a big city while already being married. As they already got their occupation at the countryside, they will be included in the group of rural ‘stayers’ when analysing the social mobility. Consequently, we have 332 people at our disposal who moved to a city alone and married afterwards. Within this group leaving the countryside for the city there were no significant differences in numbers between males and females.

In terms of decision making processes, after subtraction of those who went to a city with their parents, the share of those migrating directly to a big city are equal to those having experienced at least one previous rural migration. Only two social groups have a strong preference for an ‘urban move’ as their first migration, the children of the rural elite and of the farmers, what presumably was an effect of family-specific knowledge on other places (Kok, Mandemakers, Monkediek, 2014). The first group, as was already discussed earlier, was mainly driven by the educational character of their migration to educational institutes as universities situated in the cities. The high rate of the second group perhaps is a consequence of the nature of our sample.<sup>8</sup> That farmers have the on average highest age when moving to

the city (figure 1), can possibly be explained by the movement of several farmers from nearby villages retiring in the city of Groningen after they sold their farm.



*Figure 1. Age of first migration to the city of the cohort members born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1870 and 1870.*

Figure 1 shows that quite independently of their social background most urban migrants came firstly to the city in their twenties. For people older than 30, and even more for those older than 35 to take the first step to a big city was relatively unusual, though not completely uncommon. Even at older age groups there was a continuous stream of people moving to the city.



*Table 7. Gender distribution of cohort members born 1830, 1850 and 1870 in the Groningen clay soil region coming to city alone per social class.*

	<b>men</b>	<b>women</b>	<b>% of total</b>	
Higher managers and professionals	65%	35%	6%	20
Farmers	46%	54%	11%	37
Lower managers and professionals	58%	42%	20%	67
Foremen and skilled workers	48%	52%	20%	65
Lower-skilled workers	42%	58%	9%	31
Unskilled workers and farm workers	38%	62%	34%	112
<b>Total %</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>53%</b>		<b>332</b>
Total	156	176		332

In general, the difference in share of males and females moving to the city was limited, but on the level of different social groups the differences are quite vast, although we have to take into account that the numbers are rather small. Sons of higher and lower managers and professionals were to a much larger extent attracted by the city than their sisters. For the children from the lower classes, but also for the children of farmers it was the other way around, with a much higher number of daughters moving alone to the city. Presumably these rather unskilled women were attracted by the numerous job opportunities as domestic servant in the city, while daughters of the rural elite rather were kept at home, than leaving the house to take a job as live-in servant.

*Table 8. Age at the first migration (alone or married) to a big city per social groups for every Groningen clay soil region cohort, 1830, 1850 and 1870.*

**COHORT 1830**

<b>Social class father</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>
Higher managers and professionals	20.3	21.4	8
Farmers	41.8	33.5	23
Lower managers and professionals	34.0	28.2	32
Foremen and skilled workers	36.4	28.0	23
Lower-skilled workers	40.9	43.2	11
Unskilled workers and farm workers	28.5	27.1	40
Total	33.8	28.0	137

**COHORT 1850**

<b>Social class father</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>
Higher managers and professionals	21.9	19.0	11
Farmers	37.9	33.8	19
Lower managers and professionals	33.2	27.2	32
Foremen and skilled workers	31.7	27.1	49
Lower-skilled workers	27.8	21.1	18
Unskilled workers and farm workers	32.1	28.0	57
Total	31.7	27.1	186

**COHORT 1870**

<b>Social class father</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Median</b>	<b>N</b>
Higher managers and professionals	28.4	21.5	4
Farmers	40.8	42.2	33
Lower managers and professionals	27.5	20.5	38
Foremen and skilled workers	36.3	25.9	38
Lower-skilled workers	26.6	23.0	19
Unskilled workers and farm workers	28.2	23.0	84
Total	31.3	23.4	216

Taking into account the small numbers, table 8 in general shows that although the movement to the city of those rural children born around 1830, 1850 and 1870 increased considerably over time, the structure of this migration remained more or less the same, with relative older sons and daughters of farmers and younger children from the elite. Also the distribution between the different social groups did not change enormously, although in the last cohort the number of children with parents occupied as higher managers or professionals became fairly small. However, the numbers are so limited, that we cannot say of this was a general phenomenon.

Notwithstanding, the Integral history cohorts provide a lot of rather detailed and straightforward information on the cohort members, the problem is that the numbers are

getting rather small if we want to take into account for instance gender, social class, civil status and period in time all together. The other database consisting of marrying people born in the Groningen clay region offers far less possibilities, and the information is less reliable. For instance some of those rural born persons marrying in the city, might have never lived there, but only married someone living there. Also, it offers only information on the situation around the marriage date. Next, because birth places are not stated, or can relate to different geographic places, not all those born in the countryside can be considered. And finally as we have only data on the city of Groningen, we can not take into account migration to other large cities. However, the biggest advantage is that the numbers are very large, resulting in very clear and significant patterns. And also it has to be remarked, that the analysis of the Integral History Cohort members showed that the majority of movements from the Groningen clay region to large urban centres indeed had as their destination the nearby city of Groningen.

*Table 9. Number of males born in the Groningen clay soil region marrying either in the city or in the countryside included in our database, 1811-1934.*

	<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>City (N)</b>	<b>City (%)</b>	<b>Country-side (N)</b>	<b>Country-side (%)</b>
Higher managers and professionals	745	222	30%	523	70%
Farmers	7,974	346	4%	7,628	96%
Lower managers and professionals	8,113	1,335	16%	6,778	84%
Foremen and skilled workers	7,868	1,036	13%	6,832	87%
Small farmers	1,505	111	7%	1,394	93%
Lower-skilled workers	3,447	530	15%	2,917	85%
Unskilled workers and farm workers	30,732	1,307	4%	29,425	96%
<b>Total</b>	<b>60,374</b>	<b>4,877</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>55,497</b>	<b>92%</b>

NB: Be aware that about one third of the marriage certificates is not included in the database due to several reasons mentioned in the text.

Table 9 and 10 largely support our main findings based on the smaller Integral History database.<sup>9</sup> It were children from the rural elite who disproportionately more often went to the city, which was also indeed much more the case for the sons than for the daughters. Children of farmers and unskilled workers were the least prone to go to the city, although daughters of labourers went relatively a little bit more often. However, as labourers were by far the largest group in the Groningen clay soil region, their children were nevertheless not the largest group of those going to the city of Groningen.

*Table 10. Number of females born in the Groningen clay soil region marrying either in the city or in the countryside included in our database, 1811-1934.*

	<b>Total</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>City %</b>	<b>Country-side</b>	<b>Country-side %</b>
Higher managers and professionals	942	189	20%	753	80%
Farmers	9,911	350	4%	9,561	96%
Lower managers and professionals	9,658	1,446	15%	8,212	85%
Foremen and skilled workers	8,715	1,191	14%	7,524	86%
Small farmers	1,761	118	7%	1,643	93%
Lower-skilled workers	3,73	613	16%	3,130	84%
Unskilled workers and farm workers	34,070	1,770	5%	32,300	95%
<b>Total</b>	<b>68,800</b>	<b>5,677</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>63,123</b>	<b>92%</b>

NB: Be aware that about one third of the marriage certificates is not included in the database due to several reasons mentioned in the text.

In the light of the high share of Integral History cohort members reported to be going to the city at least once in table 2 of 22% we have to consider that this high share also includes return migration to the countryside, movements to other large cities next to Groningen, and movements as married persons. However, this cannot completely explain the difference. We also have to take into account that in the Integral History database we consider people born around 1830, 1850 and 1870, who consequently married broadly between 1850 and 1900, while the marriage data cover the much longer period 1811-1934.<sup>10</sup> The share of those marrying in the city of Groningen in those marrying in the whole of the province increases from 6.4% (1811/1836), to 6.5% (1837/1860), to 7.5% (1861/1885) , to 10.2% (1886/1910) and 10.0% (1911/1934). May be more important seems to have been the slightly distorting influence of the selection of the municipalities, two of whom were neighbouring the city of Groningen, while also the two small local urban centres Winschoten and Appingedam were selected, where the inclination of moving to a big city (both Groningen and Amsterdam) was relatively large.

#### **4. Social mobility of the Groningen soil region population.**

In this chapter, we are first going to look at the differences in social mobility patterns based on the general marriage database. We will constantly compare those marrying in the city of Groningen (movers to the city) and those marrying in the Groningen countryside (stayers in the countryside). Which group is socially more successful? Next we will analyse the social mobility patterns in the more refined Integral History dataset. We can now make a difference

between those people born in the Groningen clay region moving to a big Dutch city (whether the city of Groningen or elsewhere) with their parents, or those moving to the city alone as a step in their own career. Finally we will be looking at returnees in more detail, especially concentrating on their relative social success. Did the temporary stay in one of the big cities work out positively or negatively for their social position?

#### 4.1 social mobility and marriage records.

Firstly, the marriage database shows that there were very important differences in the social mobility patterns of males and females born in the Groningen clay soil region. Compared with the social position of their parents at the same moment in time, women proved to be much more socially mobile, experiencing both a lot more upward mobility and downward mobility (tables 11 and 12). Partly, this is the effect of using the occupation of the groom to measure the social position of the younger generation, and a consequence of social exogamy. Partly, this might also be the effect of a lower transfer of social, cultural and may be even economic capital to daughters than to sons. The gender difference in both upward and downward social mobility was about the same for those marrying in the city or in the countryside, and rather huge. A quarter more of all the daughters was mobile compared to sons, and a quarter less was immobile.

*Table 11. Upward and downward social mobility of males born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1811-1934 (occupation on marriage certificate compared to that of the parents mentioned in marriage certificates).*

Marrying in Groningen-city				Marrying in countryside		
Down-ward	Im-mobile	Up-ward		Down-ward	Im-mobile	Up-ward
45%	55%	-	Higher managers and profess.	58%	42%	-
78%	15%	7%	Farmers	30%	69%	1%
41%	54%	5%	Lower managers and profess.	49%	47%	4%
30%	49%	21%	Foremen and skilled workers	28%	59%	13%
32%	18%	50%	Small farmers	36%	33%	30%
16%	41%	43%	Lower-skilled workers	24%	46%	29%
-	37%	63%	Unskilled and farm workers	-	80%	20%
<b>28%</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>15%</b>
1,348	2,114	1,414	N	9,004	37,905	8,588

If we look at the different social backgrounds, than it becomes clear that the chance for upward social mobility is largest for sons going to a city for every social group compared to

those staying behind in the countryside. This suggests that going to a city might indeed be a successful strategy. At the same time the chance on downward social mobility in the city is also usually lower for most of the social groups, with the clear exception of farmers' sons and to a limited extent for sons of skilled workers. As we have positioned farmers at the second level of our social classification scheme, the large downward social mobility does not come as a surprise. In the city there are nearly no farms, and although their social status in the countryside is very high, it was quite difficult for sons of farmers to enter urban elite positions - though some did - may be even more so because it might often have been sons of less well-to-do farmers who moved to the city.

At first sight, it seems confusing that nevertheless those sons moving to a city in general experienced much more downward social mobility than those staying in the countryside (28% compared to 16%). However, there is a very good statistical explanation for that. Sons of rural unskilled labourers relatively rarely went to the city. As the lowest social group they cannot experience downward social mobility, and as by far the largest social group in the countryside, they greatly influence the general rate of downward social mobility of those remaining in the countryside, being only 16%. For any other social group rural downward social mobility rates are much higher, ranging from 24% to even 58%.

*Table 12. Upward and downward social mobility of females born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1811-1934 (occupation on marriage certificate compared to that of the parents mentioned in marriage certificates).*

Marrying in Groningen-city			Social class	Marrying in countryside		
Downward	Im-mobile	Upward		Downward	Im-mobile	Upward
56%	44%	-	Higher managers and profess.	64%	36%	-
89%	7%	3%	Farmers	46%	51%	4%
55%	40%	4%	Lower managers and profess.	57%	34%	9%
43%	31%	26%	Foremen and skilled workers	43%	30%	27%
46%	6%	48%	Small farmers	37%	14%	49%
20%	29%	51%	Lower-skilled workers	31%	19%	49%
-	30%	70%	Unskilled and farm workers	-	74%	26%
<b>34%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>23%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>22%</b>
1,906	1,774	1,997	N	14,347	34,851	13,925

Remarkably, the social mobility patterns of daughters are rather diverging, also if we look at social groups. Again daughters from the lowest class experienced a lot more upward social mobility than those staying in the countryside, and often again marrying a farm labourer. However, in contrast to the sons, the chances on upward social mobility of daughters of other

social groups going to a big city were not really much better than of those women staying behind in the countryside, actually these chances were usually even slightly less, with the exception of the daughters of lower-skilled workers.

If we look at the chances on downward intergenerational social mobility of women the results reported in table 12 are rather mixed. Daughters of lower skilled workers and higher managers and professionals had a lower chance on downward social mobility, while daughters of large farmers (again) - but also of small farmers - experienced more downward mobility in the cities. For daughters originating from the middle groups the differences between staying in the countryside or moving to the city of Groningen were rather limited. That the downward social mobility rate of women going to the city was much higher, again had to do with the relatively limited group of daughters of labourers moving to Groningen-city.

*Table 13. The development of the social mobility of people born in the Groningen clay soil region marrying either in the city of Groningen or in the countryside, 1811-1934.*

City				Countryside		
Downward	Immobile	Upward		Downward	Immobile	Upward
45%	33%	22%	<b>1811-1835</b>	30%	55%	15%
40%	33%	26%	<b>1836-1860</b>	25%	61%	13%
36%	39%	25%	<b>1861-1885</b>	18%	68%	14%
27%	39%	34%	<b>1886-1910</b>	16%	65%	19%
23%	37%	41%	<b>1911-1934</b>	16%	56%	27%
<b>30%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>19%</b>
2,889	3,511	3,104	N (total)	21,754	68,495	21,190

The figures in table 13 show that we have to be careful interpreting the previous tables without taking account of developments over time. During the period 1811-1934 there was a very strong shift from a society dominated by downward social mobility, towards one dominated by upward social mobility. Both downward and upward mobility figures were - as we already have seen - much higher for those going to the city, and the chances on first sight were the highest for movers to the city. However, for both groups percentages of people experiencing downward mobility about halved, while percentages for those experiencing upward mobility nearly doubled, so relatively the difference was very small. The reasons for this striking development have to be related to the changes in social structure of the society in this period, which were enlarged by the use of a HISClass-based social stratification scheme. In HISClass relatively modern positions in especially the growing service sector are rated considerably higher than more old-fashioned working positions in handicrafts and agriculture.

Although not part of our research question, it is interesting to point at the development of social immobility. Until the period 1861-1885 social immobility increased significantly, especially for those staying in the countryside. The reason is presumably the occupational structure of the Groningen clay soil region becoming quantitatively more and more dominated by an enormous group of unskilled labourers working in agriculture. However, the immobility of those moving to the city also increased. After 1885 the social mobility in general increased again, and even more so after 1910. Again, this development was mostly restricted to those staying behind in the countryside. With the falling importance of agriculture in the occupational structure, and the rising importance of all kinds of more specialised functions in services and industry in the countryside, more and more children of especially labourers and lower skilled workers could obtain more skilled middle class positions in the period 1911-1934.

#### 4.2. Social mobility in the Integral History Database

In the marriage record database it is impossible to make a difference between those born in countryside moving to the city alone and unmarried, and those moving with their parents. However, the Integral History database makes it possible to separate the last group. How does our picture of social mobility changes if we compare their mobility rates among different social groups? Later on these rates will be compared with mobility rates of rural ‘stayers’. Not surprisingly, the role of urban migration was of even more importance for the social mobility of the youngsters moving alone. However, its effect was indeed depending heavily on the social background of the person undertaking such a step.

*Table 14. Shares of intergenerational mobility of individuals born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870 migrating to a big city alone.*

	Higher managers and professionals	Farmers	Lower managers and professionals	Foremen and skilled workers	Lower-skilled workers	Unskilled workers	
<b>downward mob.</b>	53%	79%	48%	35%	23%	-	28%
<b>Immobility</b>	47%	11%	40%	29%	12%	31%	30%
<b>upward mobility</b>	-	11%	13%	37%	65%	69%	43%
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>247</b>
<b>% of total</b>	6%	8%	19%	20%	11%	36%	100.0%



As expected, table 14 shows that people from the two lowest social groups, lower-skilled and unskilled workers had an overwhelmingly higher rate of upward mobility than other urban migrants. They were able to take the most advantage of the numerous better possibilities offered by urban employment. The rate of upward mobility these groups achieved by leaving the countryside is indeed very high, accordingly 65% and 69%. This perfectly supports our observations on general upward mobility in the city from table 11. Whereas in the general table, we could not precisely detect that increasing intergenerational mobility was an effect of migration of their own, or perhaps of migration of the older generation, table 14 gives us an insight into the ‘treatment effect of mobility’. The feasibility of a future in a city seems to be of great importance for unskilled rural labourers’ children. Nevertheless, before claiming superiority of urban migration for social careers of these people, we have to complete our picture of their migration opportunities, i.e. divide our category of rural stayers between those who were geographically mobile within the countryside (be it a local or inter-regional move, within agricultural labour-markets) and those who never left the village of their birth. As table 15 shows, rural-rural migration has the lowest upward mobility ratio. Thus, if one was about to climb the social ladder as a labourer, he or she would better go immediately to a city instead of spending time on local, micro scale migrations, or stay at the place of birth.

*Table 15. Shares of intergenerational mobility for children of labourers born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870.*

		<b>Im- mobility</b>	<b>upward mobility</b>	
Unskilled and farm workers	Migrations within the countryside	72%	28%	343
	No migration recorded	70%	31%	95
	Migration to a city alone	31%	69%	90

Non-succeeding sons of farmers and professionals who had a high risk of downward mobility (Kok & Delger 1998; see also Paping & Karel 2012), could not escape this fate by moving to a city. The situation of the sons and daughters of skilled workers in a city seems to have been the most conspicuous one, their mobility scores are almost equally distributed between upward mobility, downward mobility and immobility. For them, in contrast to the migrants from lower and unskilled labourer’s background, opportunities for upward mobility provided by cities’ labour markets were far more limited, partly because employment in the industrial sector could not easily lift them above their fathers position. However, one may ask the

question if skilled workers, many times tied to traditional occupations, who at that time had started to be continuously under pressure of mechanization processes, had much chance to keep up with the occupation of their father, or at least escape downward mobility. In an urban environment the social capital and training, that skilled workers received at the countryside, probably met with the strong competition of the growing influx of unskilled workers, who while improving their skills started to replace traditional artisans. Despite the small number of individuals in our database who met the requirements of such selection, this process can be seen in table 16, where upwardly mobile children of rural unskilled labourers who migrated to a city before marriage, are divided by the social class achieved in a city. Most of them already at the age of marriage were skilled workers and foremen.

*Table 16. Social position after marriage of unskilled labourers children who migrated to a city before marriage born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870.*

	Higher managers and professionals	Farmers	Lower managers and professionals	Foremen and skilled workers	Lower- skilled workers	Unskilled workers and farm workers	Total
<b>Immobility</b>	-	-	-	-	-	28	<b>28</b>
	-	-	-	-	-	31.1%	<b>31%</b>
<b>Upward Mobility</b>	1	1	18	23	19	0	<b>62</b>
	1%	1%	20%	26%	21%	0%	<b>69%</b>
<b>Total</b>	1	1	18	23	19	28	<b>90</b>
	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

If we want to assess the relative importance and scale of opportunities offered by urban migration for the nineteenth century rural population of the Groningen clay soil region, we have to compare our former findings with the situation of those who stayed in the countryside, as we already did for the unskilled labourers in the previous part.

Table 17 gives overall rates of intergenerational mobility of those who did not leave the countryside before marriage (in the final version of this article, we will analyse migrations within the countryside before marriage as a determinant for mobility as well). Starting from the top, it becomes clear that the high social position of farmers was strongly related to the place where their status was achieved. In the case of farmers, the relation between social position and land ownership is self-evident, and their low geographical mobility is perfectly understandable. In comparison, as the higher social position of managers and professionals was primarily depending on education, their children were continuously forced to move. Whereas for farmers' children the best way to maintain continuity with the high social

position of the father was to stay in the country side, while children of managers better could go to a city.

*Table 17. Indices of intergenerational mobility of rural 'stayers' per father's social class born in the Groningen clay soil region, 1830, 1850 and 1870.*

	<b>Higher managers and professionals</b>	<b>Farmers</b>	<b>Lower managers and professionals</b>	<b>Foremen and skilled workers</b>	<b>Lower- skilled workers</b>	<b>Unskilled workers</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Downward mobility</b>	73%	32%	44%	31%	30%	0%	19%
<b>Immobility</b>	27%	63%	40%	48%	28%	69%	58%
<b>Upward mobility</b>	0%	4%	16%	22%	42%	31%	23%
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>1,314</b>

In the case of skilled workers table 17 also seems to prove at least partially our conclusion on their prospects in a big city. We clearly see that staying in the countryside could protect them from eventual downward mobility in a city, and helped them keeping up continuity with the achievements of their fathers. At the same time, by staying in the countryside their prospects for moving forward were pushed away. The tendency for intergenerational immobility proved to be strongest (69%) among those, who ideally supposed to be the most interested in life betterment, e.g. the children of unskilled labourers.

If we compare the results of table 14 and 17, than we see that in general the chance on upward mobility for those going to the city alone was much higher (43%), than for those remaining in the countryside (23%). However, their chances on downward social mobility were also considerably larger (28% versus 19%). It were as already mentioned especially the children of lower and unskilled labourers who made the most of the difference in upward chances between rural stayers and those moving to the city.

### **4.3 Social mobility of the returnees**

Migration is anything but an irreversible process. As many scholars recently pointed out, selection processes play a significant role at the level of a 'sending' community, as well as after arrival at the place of destination. In a later version of this paper we will try to get some grip on the complexity of the selection processes by using multivariate models. In this paper

we will first look at the characteristics of the returnee group, and later on study their social achievements.

*Table. 18 Social background of rural ‘returnees’ and rural migrants dying in the city (Integral History Project sample).*

	<b>Higher managers and profess.</b>	<b>Farmers</b>	<b>Lower managers and profess.</b>	<b>Foremen, skilled workers</b>	<b>Lower-skilled workers</b>	<b>Unskilled workers</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Died in the city</b>	26	64	85	95	46	132	448
	70%	70%	61%	77%	68%	66%	68%
<b>Returned to the countryside</b>	11	28	54	29	22	68	212
	30%	30%	39%	23%	32%	34%	32%

As table 18 indicates, the social group most prone to come back to the countryside were children of skilled and unskilled labourers and of lower managers, though the differences were fairly limited. The relative high number of returnees among children of unskilled labourers, can be explained by many factors. As we have already seen in the general picture of our sample (table 5), for many of them the first migration outside the rural network was rather an interim than a strategic step. Migration abroad, to distant places was as good as migration to a city. Nevertheless, to call the urban experience of those descending from, lower class, who after marriage came back to the countryside an urban ‘failure’ would be a misnomer. Their upward mobility rate (table 19) still by far exceeds the achievements of those, who did not decide to give themselves a chance in a city. An upward mobility rate of 60% seems to back up our initial thesis about a possibly positive effect of the urban move. Even though at this moment we cannot provide an answer to the question when the better occupation was obtained, in the city or after return to the countryside, we can still conclude that the urban experience in accumulating human or other capital seemed to have improved the position of returnees. Or, in the case of labourers’ daughters, the move to the city made it possible to find a marriage partner with a higher social status.

Despite the low number of returnees in the sample, table 19 suggests one interesting conclusion. Unskilled labourers children who decided to come back after staying in a city were surely not the least successful ones. Their upward mobility ratio coincides with both, the overall upward mobility characteristics of those born in the countryside marrying in Groningen- city, as well as with the mobility level of urban bread-winners who stayed. In fact, at the moment this is the only conclusion we can draw, keeping in mind that further insight into their later life career stories and migration history might be illuminating.

*Table 19 Indices of intergenerational mobility of individuals returning to the countryside (Integral History Project sample).*

	<b>downward mobility</b>	<b>immobility</b>	<b>upward mobility</b>	<b>Total</b>
Higher managers and professionals	29%	71%	-	7
Farmers	58%	32%	11%	19
Lower managers and professionals	50%	41%	9%	44
Foremen and skilled workers	36%	40%	24%	25
Lower-skilled workers	14%	29%	57%	21
Unskilled workers; Lower-skilled and unskilled farm workers	-	40%	60%	53
<b>Total</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>169</b>

*Table 20. Social mobility for different groups of cohort members born 1830, 1850 and 1870 in the Groningen clay soil area.*

**Downward social mobility**

	<b>High man</b>	<b>Farm</b>	<b>Low man</b>	<b>Skilled</b>	<b>Low skilled</b>	<b>Unskilled</b>	<b>N (down- ward)</b>
In countryside before marriage	73%	32%	44%	31%	30%	-	<b>255</b>
Moving to city with parents	40%	100%	41%	21%	43%	-	<b>41</b>
Moving to city alone	50%	78%	49%	34%	24%	-	<b>66</b>
<b>N (downward)</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>40</b>		<b>362</b>
Returnees (to city with parents)	-	100%	54%	-	-	-	<b>10</b>
Returnees (to city alone)	33%	75%	44%	18%	23%	-	<b>11</b>

**Socially immobile**

	<b>High man</b>	<b>Farm</b>	<b>Low man</b>	<b>Skilled</b>	<b>Low skilled</b>	<b>Unskilled</b>	<b>N (im- mobile)</b>
In countryside before marriage	27%	63%	40%	48%	28%	69%	<b>758</b>
Moving to city with parents	60%	0%	45%	29%	29%	40%	<b>38</b>
Moving to city alone	50%	11%	38%	30%	12%	32%	<b>72</b>
<b>N (immobile)</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>868</b>
Returnees (to city with parents)	100%	0%	38%	50%	50%	60%	<b>11</b>
Returnees (to city alone)	67%	13%	44%	36%	15%	36%	<b>31</b>

**Upward social mobility**

	<b>High man</b>	<b>Farm</b>	<b>Low man</b>	<b>Skilled</b>	<b>Low skilled</b>	<b>Unskilled</b>	<b>N (upward)</b>
In countryside before marriage	-	4%	16%	22%	42%	31%	<b>301</b>
Moving to city with parents	-	0%	14%	50%	29%	60%	<b>27</b>
Moving to city alone	-	11%	13%	36%	64%	68%	<b>101</b>
<b>N (upward)</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>429</b>
Returnees (to city with parents)	-	0%	8%	50%	50%	40%	<b>5</b>
Returnees (to city alone)	-	13%	11%	45%	62%	64%	<b>37</b>

In table 20 we finally give an overview of our results for the Integral History cohort members. It offers the information for the 1,659 individuals for which we were able to measure the intergenerational social mobility.<sup>11</sup> For the children descending from the lowest three social groups staying in the countryside always resulted in a lower chance on upward social mobility, with the exception of children of lower-skilled labourers who moved to the city with their parents. For the children of farmers, lower managers and professionals it did not make much difference.

The chance to keep the parental position was usually a lot higher for those staying in the countryside before marriage, with the notable exception of higher and lower managers and professionals who seemed to have needed a stay in big cities to easier uphold their occupational status, which are actually the same results as when we considered the marriage certificates (table 11 and 12). The chance on downward social mobility was usually about the same for most lower groups. In this respect, we have already seen that the small group of children of higher managers and professionals and of farmers were the exception. Farmers' children could secure the parental position much easier while staying in the countryside, whereas staying in the countryside was nearly disastrous for the children of the elite.

## 5. Conclusions

In this paper we have presented some first results on our research into the relation between moving to the city and social mobility. In the future we want to refine our measurement by improving the used social classification scheme, and by doing some more advanced statistical analysis like multivariate models. In this paper we restricted ourselves to simple descriptive statistics of the two available datasets.

This first analysis proved that the population of the nineteenth century Groningen clay soil region was anything but settled. Even though people from Groningen, in the face of industrialization, as well as before its arrival in the North of the Netherlands, were moving in any possible direction, their preferences as well as effects of undertaken moves significantly differed between social classes.

Firstly, we discovered, that big cities were not only *upward mobility launchers* for countryside unskilled labourers children, but also the most feasible way for rural elites to preserve their privileged position (in their case positive effects of migration especially unfold

in the returning phase). Whereas for rural-elites sons, migration to a city was often an integral part of their life strategy, undertaken at the a young age, children of the labourers more reluctantly approached migration to a big city. Perhaps, the ‘cultural’ distance between living in the countryside and in the city, seemed as much of a challenge as leaving for another culturally unknown area, such as Michigan in the United States. Nevertheless, at this moment, we can only state that indeed, actors from each rural class took part the rural-urban migration.

Finally, an urban move proved to be the best possible choice, with exception of farmers’children. Interestingly enough, it was observed that urban migration is not the key, or more precisely the only way to upward social mobility of migrants from the countryside. As our extended macro database of all marriages of those born in the Groningen clay soil region concluded in the province between 1811-1934 showed, intergenerational social mobility of rural-urban migrant cannot be properly understood without taking into account occupational developments at the level of the province. In the nineteenth century, the province of Groningen experienced a decisive shift from a traditional society, dominated by high downward mobility chances and low chances on success, to a more modern society with relatively a lot of upward social mobility possibilities.

Even though this paper is not aiming at unfolding migration as the main ingredient of one’s social career, we hope that problems highlighted by this regional study will contribute to better understanding of rural-urban migration processes, especially from the perspective of the *sending* rural environment. The importance of our study lays firstly in the creation of a basis for further research of rural-urban migrations. By analysing the available datasets in a statistically more advanced way, we hope to unravel better the effects of different factors on social mobility. The analysis in this paper makes especially very clear that the factors influencing social mobility processes can have fairly different effects, depending on which social group is taking into account.

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**Appendix A: The quality of the Integral History cohorts of the Groningen countryside, 1811, 1830, 1850, 1870 (percentages of the whole cohort).**

Age	Lost	Deceased	Migrated abroad	In observation at end of period
1811				
0-10	0.7	23.1	0.6	75.5
10-20	1.1	5.1	0.2	69.1
20-30	0.5	6.9	0.1	61.6
30-40	0.4	8.1	0,6	52.5
40-50	0.1	9.7	0,3	42.4
50-60	0.2	8.0	1.1	33.1
60-70	-	9.0	0,6	23.5
70-80	-	12.6	0,4	10.6
80+	0.1	10.5	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>93.0</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>100,0</b>
1830				
0-10	0.3	19.7	0.2	79.8
10-20	0.5	5.5	0.8	73
20-30	1.1	9.2	1.2	61.5
30-40	0.6	8.1	2.0	50.8
40-50	0.6	6.9	0.9	42.4
50-60	0.3	5.7	1.5	34.9
60-70	0.1	10.9	0.7	23.2
70-80	-	11.0	-	12.2
80+	-	12.0	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>89.2</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>100,0</b>
1850				
0-10	0.6	24.3	1.8	73.3
10-20	0.6	4.5	1.5	66.7
20-30	0.6	7.1	2.9	56.1
30-40	0.3	4.7	2.5	48.6
40-50	0.6	3.7	1.5	42.8
50-60	0.2	7.0	0.8	34.8
60-70	-	8.6	0.2	26.0
70-80	-	13.1	-	12.9
80+	-	13.0	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>86.1</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>100,0</b>
1870				
0-10	0.1	30.7	3.1	66.1
10-20	0.6	2.8	5.1	57.6
20-30	0.6	2.8	6.5	47.7
30-40	0.1	2.3	1.5	43.8
40-50	0.1	3.1	1.5	39.1
50-60	-	4.0	0.1	35.0
60-70	0.2	7.6	-	27.2
70-80	0.2	13.0	-	14.2
80+		14.2	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>80,5</b>	<b>17.8</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Compare Paping (1999) 79. Each cohort counted 1,080 persons.

**Appendix B: Large Dutch cities with populations usually above 15,000 and a highly urban character selected for this study.**

City	Population 1899	Province
Amsterdam	503.727	Noordholland
Rotterdam	313.524	Zuidholland
s' Gravenhage (Den Haag)	204.009	Zuidholland
Utrecht	101.464	Utrecht
Groningen	65.977	Groningen
Haarlem	63.726	Noordholland
Arnhem	56.081	Gelderland
Leiden	53.432	Zuidholland
Nijmegen	42.112	Gelderland
Tilburg	40.177	Noordbrabant
Dordrecht	37.943	Zuidholland
Maastricht	32.829	Limburg
Leeuwarden	32.028	Friesland
Delft	31.451	Zuidholland
Zwolle	30.420	Overijssel
s'-Hertogenbosch	30.109	Noordbrabant
Schiedam	27.040	Zuidholland
Deventer	26.126	Overijssel
Breda	25.841	Noordbrabant
Den Helder	25.100	Noordholland
Enschede	24.005	Overijssel
Gouda	22.019	Zuidholland
Zaandam	21.096	Noordholland
Kampen	19.616	Overijssel
Amersfoort	18.990	Utrecht
Middelburg	18.708	Zeeland
Zutphen	18.197	Gelderland
Alkmaar	18.179	Noordholland
Vlissingen	17.708	Zeeland
Assen	11.135	Drenthe

NB: Population based on *Volkstellingen.nl*. For selection see main text.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Next to the cohorts used, there are also data from children in the same municipalities from 1811 onwards (1,080 persons), and a double cohort for those born in the city of Groningen in the years 1811, 1830, 1850 and 1870 (960 persons). In the future we will also try to integrate the 1811 cohort in the analysis, if the quality of the data makes this possible. A major problem for this cohort is the late start of the Dutch Population Registers in 1850.

<sup>2</sup> We want to thank all those researchers who contributed to making this database, and especially Riemke Westerholt who increased the coverage from Groningen until 1918 to the whole of the Netherlands until 1940.

<sup>3</sup> Because of the numerous spelling mistakes and minor changes in names, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century we have chosen at first for a manual procedure, but perhaps an automatic procedure would be more feasible.

<sup>4</sup> In this chapter the analytical restriction of dying after the age of 5 was not yet applied. Presented numbers are shares of the whole sample of 3,240 individuals.

<sup>5</sup> We are still considering the possibility to look at the occupations of the parents around the age of 15 of the cohort member also, as in this way we can measure the intergenerational social mobility experienced by the child after the age of 15 solely.

<sup>6</sup> This was a rather small category, and we did not use it yet for analyzing the Integral History database.

<sup>7</sup> A movement that according to us seems to increase consistency as all the other traders, merchants, shopkeepers, traveling salesmen have been put in group 3-5, and often merchant and pedlar prove to be synonyms. However, actually a position in 9 (lower skilled) or perhaps 6-7 (skilled) might better reflect the social status of those selling products along the houses, usually for their own account.

<sup>8</sup> Many of the farmer children came from nearby Hoogkerk or Bedum, both municipalities with a relative high share of farmers within their population. For them it was not strange to go directly to the city.

<sup>9</sup> These data still also contain people marrying for the second and third time, in the future we want to restrict the analysis to people marrying for the first time.

<sup>10</sup> The share of those marrying in the city of Groningen compared to those marrying in the Groningen countryside in our marriage database, increased from 6.4% (1811/1836), to 6.5% (1837/1860, to 7.5% (1861/1885), to 10.2% (1886/1910) and 10.0% (1911/1934).

<sup>11</sup> Total number of people, who met the requirements of: A. Being married in the Netherlands; B. The marriage date is known, and we can measure social mobility (upward, downward, immobile). From all 1682 marriage certificates, 18 were taken out of observation, because these persons married abroad, and 5 due to a missing marriage date, even though sometimes the occupations were known.